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## SPEECH OF THE HON. MR. RUGGLES, (Continued.)

By this abstract it appears that the whole amount of shipping owned in the four States mentioned, is 92,485 tons; 40,225 of the 60,903 owned in Louisiana, is steamboat tonnage employed on the rivers, leaving 52,259 employed in foreign and coastwise commerce. The permanent registered tonnage is that which is engaged in foreign commerce, with but few exceptions. Of that these four States have but 20,215 tons, while the whole amount of American tonnage employed in foreign commerce is 641,091. Adopting that proportion, South Carolina, should have about 70,000 tons instead of 3,000, having upwards of seven millions of exports in American vessels. The four States mentioned, with more than half of all the exports of domestic produce, own less than a 34th part of all the American tonnage employed.

There is then this very great deficiency of vessels at the south, and to supply that deficiency, she is necessarily indebted to those States which have an excess above their exportations: the principal of which is Maine, having over 70,000 tons of shipping engaged in foreign commerce, with less than a million of exports. Yes, Mr. President, Maine, hitherto overlooked, forgotten, and disregarded in everything relating to the defence of her seaboard, owns nearly 40,000 tons more shipping than all the Southern Atlantic and Gulf States south of the Potomac. Nay, I may say she has more spacious harbors, more deep and convenient waters, more ports of entry and delivery, more facilities for commercial and naval operations, than all the southern States together, south of the Chesapeake. Sir, I do not speak extravagantly.—The facts, on examination, will be found to bear me out.

But, Sir, I will go further, and enquire where the South obtains the vessels she owns? If I am not much mistaken, it will appear that she was indebted to the North for them, and to a great extent to Maine herself! By advertising to the extract, I find that the four States named, built in 1833 about 1,587 tons, while Maine built 51,687. The district of Bath alone, one of the twelve districts into which the coast of that State is divided, builds a third more than all the southern States together, from Virginia to Louisiana inclusive. That one district, for the defence of which not a dollar has been expended or any permanent fortification, owns three times the amount of tonnage that is owned by the whole State of South Carolina, whose ports have been fortified at the expense of a little short of a million of dollars. The same remark may be made in reference to Portland and the Penobscot. Our ships, many of which are among the very best freighted vessels in the world, navigated by intelligent and experienced shipmasters, and manned by hardy seamen, are found in all the southern ports, New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, &c. competing for freights, and taking their produce off their hands at the lowest prices of transportation.

Now, Sir, leave the maritime frontier of Maine without defences, leave her harbors exposed, give up that "peninsular State" to the enemy, and a declaration of war would put an absolute stop to ship building. Her five or six hundred shipyards would be desolate; and the first six months after the commencement of hostilities, would see our shipping destroyed and its owners ruined. The effect of such a state of things would produce on southern interests dependent on the ship building and ship owning States, cannot be accurately estimated. The price of freights would be greatly increased. Such a diminution of the number of freighted vessels would destroy all competition for freights, and southern producers would be compelled to pay whatever northern carriers should choose to demand. And thus is the South directly interested in the defence of our harbors in Maine, and in the protection and preservation of our shipping. We do not build ships for ourselves alone; we build them also for the South. The shipyards of the south are in Maine. She is the great ship building State of the Union.—Throughout the whole south and southwest, every producer of a bag of cotton, and a hog-head of sugar, or any other article of export, has a direct interest in this matter; for they feel the effect of the increased price of freights in the diminution of the home value of their products.

Mr. President, there is one other consideration to which I cannot forbear calling the attention of the Senate, involving a matter of great national interest. I have reference to the long pending, and still unsettled, controversy between this Government and Great Britain, relative to the disputed territory on our north eastern border.

It is a large and valuable portion of the State of Maine, claimed, and to some extent occupied, by Great Britain, but which is clearly our rightful domain, and should be held within our sovereignty and jurisdiction.

The Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Davis, laid before the Senate some time since, resolutions emanating from the legislature of that State, which relate to this controversy, and to the territory in question. It was at a time when I was absent from the Senate a few days from indisposition. But I have since seen a published report of his remarks on that occasion, in which I find an extract published as having been read to the Senate from the report of a committee sent by that State, some months since to explore and examine into the condition of the country in dispute between the two Governments, a part of that extract is as follows:

"The committee have thus briefly noticed the outline presented in its passage across this important portion of our domain. When it shall be explored more fully, and it will be found to contain an inexhaustible treasure, in its deep forests, its rivers and its soil. The condition of all that portion now here in the custody of England, presents matter for serious and anxious reflection. Are we humbled by the lofty pretensions of a Power from whom we have twice conquered an honorable peace, or from whom we are sacrificed? No American and especially no man of New England, can traverse this region, and shut out from his mind the conviction that wrongs have been perpetrated under the cover of diplomacy, that dare not be defended in open field. This land which we claim belongs to us of right, has for some cause, been most ignominiously surrendered to the custody of a foreign Power. It does not fail to impress one strangely, that after possession of more than a quarter of a century; after the full exercise of sovereignty, we should quietly permit that possession and that sovereignty to pass into the hands of a foreign power, and thus hold until that power shall find leisure to establish over it a permanent legal title. But your committee will not dwell upon a topic so fruitful of unpleasant emotions; they were sufficiently harassed by them while traversing this region; they could not look abroad without witnessing the depredations and waste everywhere committed; they could not fail to appreciate at its just value, the guardianship exercised over it. They were not blind to the trespasses once suppressed by our own agents, but now renewed upon the timber and lands and that seemed to be pursued with an eagerness and ingenuity that scorned resistance or defied detection. They did not complain, for there was no power to redress; nor do the committee now arraign the conduct of the British agent; he is powerless on this subject. The great mass of the population consider the lands as waste; and each plunderer and appropriator as his inclination or interests lead him. There have been some devices thought expedient as a cover for some of the grossest acts under the eye of the authorities. 'Location certificates' are granted by the Government of New Brunswick to old soldiers; these are made to cover one tract, until the timber is stripped, and then it is changed to another; a sort of roving commission, protecting the aggressor, when the power to punish needs but a slight apology to quiet it; large portions of this region held in trust, thus formerly, have recently been claimed as belonging to Canada, thus taking it out of the jurisdiction of the trustee, the Governor of New Brunswick, and freeing it from all rule, or law, or agency."

I have read this extract for two purposes.—One is to have the opportunity of reminding the Senator, who has made it a part of his speech, that whatever errors of diplomacy have been committed in respect to that matter, were committed by those for whose acts the present administration cannot be held responsible. Whatever wrongs have been perpetrated under the cover of diplomacy, that cannot be defended in the open field, have grown out of measures, which had not the consent of Maine, and which were as much against her wishes and interests as they are against the principles and policy of the present Executive Department of the Government. I need not be more explicit. The Senator was I think, a member of the other House during a period now gone by, where he was a distinguished and able supporter of the then existing administration, in most of its measures, if not of its diplomacy.

There is another honorable Senator on this floor who has, doubtless some faint recollection of interesting circumstances that have taken place in respect to this question, with which his official duties, always ably performed, must have made him acquainted. What reference the Massachusetts committee had to the "diplomacy" at Ghent, in which the Senator took a distinguished part; or what reference was intended to what took place in respect to this matter during his premiership under a late administration, the committee itself can tell best.

But Sir it is no purpose of mine, in making these remarks, to lay blame at the door of any one. I am particularly desirous in this discussion of avoiding every topic not legitimately connected with the subject under consideration.

If the Massachusetts committee, or the Senator had been a little more explicit, in the allusion to what is called an "ignominious surrender of territory, for some cause or to answer some purposes, and fixed the imputation where it belongs, if it belong anywhere, I should have spared myself some remarks.

I have read the extract for one other purpose more opposite to the question under consideration. It was to show that Maine was not alone in considering this question of boundary, as it is called—more properly a question of title and territory—as one which, in its present aspect, is justly calculated to produce "serious and anxious reflection. He alone whose prophecy is knowledge, and who controls the destinies of nations, can tell in what that controversy will end. The country in dispute embraces about one third of the State. It is equal in extent to the two States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. It is valuable for its deep forests of timber, as well as for its soil, and the numerous streams which intersect it. It is capable of sustaining a million of inhabitants. Our title to it is as clear as language can make it. And the British Government urge their claim to it with an earnestness and pertinacity equal to the clearness of our title. Shall it be submissively yielded to her? Sir, it would be a disgraceful surrender of a clear and manifest right.

How then is the matter to be settled? Negotiation has been tried thus far in vain. There is little prospect of its being more successful in future. And how soon the time will come when the honor and rights of the nation shall imperiously require a resort to measures of a more determinate and decisive character, I will not predict. I have reason to believe that this controversy to be regarded by the Executive with anxiety and concern, from a sincere desire to preserve the friendly relations between the two nations; at the same time resolved not to compromise the just right of Maine, and of the Union to the tract of country in question.

Now, Sir, to what extent future negotiations would be influenced by placing the maritime frontier of that State, in a condition of security, is a question worthy of consideration. Great Britain considers the possession of this territory of great importance, as well from its intrinsic value as from its location. A large portion of it as the Senator from Massachusetts remarked, is covered with a thick growth of white pine.—Much of that valuable timber, and of the timber spruce, nearly as valuable, for some purposes more so, still remain within the undisputed boundaries of that State. But that is rapidly disappearing before the axe of the lumberman. Many have estimated that, on the Penobscot waters alone, between three and four hundred million feet of lumber are cut and saved annually. Proportionate quantities are cut on several other of the rivers of Maine; and the business is increasing rapidly, and the prices and value still more rapidly, from the increasing demand of the country. Does not Great Britain perceive that the time will soon come when that forest of timber which she is endeavoring to appropriate to her own use, will be the only resource left of that valuable species of lumber for all New England, New York, and the Middle States, to a considerable extent, and for the South to some extent also? I speak of this peculiar and valuable kind of lumber which is found in no great quantity any where else in the United States; readily accessible from the ocean. I say, Sir, does not Great Britain perceive this, and is not her anxiety to hold that territory greatly increased by a desire to monopolize so valuable an article of commerce?—And I ask, Sir, will she renege from the position she has assumed in relation to it, so long as she sees the whole maritime frontier of Maine, with all her shipping, her commerce, her towns and cities, naked and exposed? Will she feel any apprehension from us, while we ourselves are defenceless? Will she fear to receive, while she can so readily give, blows? Let me tell you, Sir, that controversy can never be settled in a manner consistent with our honor and our rights, until the maritime frontier of Maine shall be put in a state of security. Its present defenceless and exposed condition is an encouragement, an invitation to Great Britain to hold out in her preposterous claim. But I will not detain the Senate in presenting this matter in the variety of aspects in which it exhibits itself to my mind. If you would secure that important part of our domain by peaceable measures, place the State in such a condition that Great Britain shall not find in our very defencelessness a lure to a war of conquest and acquisition.—Let her at least see us in such a condition that we may be supposed unwilling to hazard a vindication of our rights. With the prospect of defence thrown over us, we might reasonably hope that a negotiation, so long protracted would at last terminate in the successful establishment of our just territorial and jurisdictional limits. We might hope to avoid a war, which otherwise, may sooner or later be inevitable.

Let no man attempt to reconcile himself to the idea of abandoning that country on the ground of its trifling value. I will not stop to estimate its value as matter of property. It is sufficient that it is a portion of the United States—a large part of one of the sovereign States of this Union; and to surrender our right to it on the extraordinary claim and demand of Great Britain, would be an ignominious act of national degradation, as much so as would be the surrender of the District of Columbia.

Twenty years ago, instead of claiming title in herself, she was seeking to acquire from us a right of way—a communication through this territory from New Brunswick to Quebec.—After diplomacy had put her spectacles on—after the treaty of Ghent, she began to view the matter in a different light, and now, instead of negotiating for a right of way, she is claiming full right and title in herself, and even denying us a right of way to the St. Johns, and upon its waters to the ocean.

Some of the consequences resulting from the condition in which that country is now placed, are the subjection of American citizens to the vexatious dominion of a foreign Power, the destruction and waste of timber, delaying the settlement and agricultural improvement of a fertile portion of our territory, and imposing restraints upon the extension of public and private enterprise.

Under these circumstances, the obligation and the remedy are with this Government. What can Maine do? Your constitution, to which no State is more faithful, tells her she has no right to make war. She can enter into no negotiation, make no treaty, levy no impost duties.—She has yielded up most of the means and the power of vindicating her rights against foreign nations, in exchange for the national guaranty of protection. And you have admonished her that she should be careful not to embroil the two countries in war by her impudence. She has been told that negotiations of some sort were going on; that diplomacy was at work; and that her rights should be secured to her; that you had difficulties with other powers to settle, and that it was not politic nor prudent to engage in too many controversies at the same time.—Well, Sir, all this we thought very reasonable; and we have waited till all other controversies have been settled. We have remained quiet, and from a sincere desire to avoid every act which should tend to disturb the friendly relation between the two countries, we have afforded many practical examples of the virtue of forbearance, while our neighbors have advanced and moved back our landmarks. But, Sir, here we stop!

This matter demands the serious attention of this Government. If neglected now, it may, at no distant day, involve a question of the most serious import. I know that whatever can be done to secure our rights by negotiation, will be done. All peaceable measures will be first tried. All the influence of a just, temperate, and wise policy will be brought in aid of a firm and resolute assertion of the rights and honor of the nation. But without a preparation for enforcing and vindicating them, I have too much reason to apprehend that negotiation will be fruitless. That argument with nations is often most convincing, which has something besides diplomatic logic to support it.

I make no unavailing complaints about the past. I take the question as I find it. And how is that? Why, Sir, a considerable portion of one of the sovereign States of this Union is subjected to the dominion of a foreign power, and all the other States, save one, seem to look quietly on, wholly unconcerned so long as their territory remains undisturbed! Is it not so? Hitherto the Constitution has afforded us no practical guaranty either for the defence of our seaboard or the integrity of our territory. If such is to be its practical exposition in future, I would be quite willing to exchange it for the old articles of confederation, as loosely and feebly as they held the States of this Union together.

Sir, Maine is not disposed to claim more than justly belongs to her, nor to assume any attitude unbecoming the dignity of political sovereignty. She has not been, she will not be, unreasonable in her claims. She asks only those rights which the national compact secures to her in common with all the other States.—In urging them with energy and firmness, she will not lose sight of what is due to her own character nor what is due to the character of this Government. She has the highest confidence that nothing will be left undone to secure her rights, which the Constitution has placed in the power of the Executive Department of the Government to do. She now asks that Congress will place her on an equal footing with the other States in respect to frontier defences, having regard to her local position and the high interests she has at stake.

Instead of the amount appropriated by the bill for the defences of Maine being greater than her condition requires, in my apprehension it falls far short of it. But three positions are provided for. In reference to the important considerations to which I have adverted, I cannot but believe that a prudent forecast would lead to the immediate commencement of fortifications at other points for which no appropriations are made. If we should be so unfortunate as to be engaged in another war with England, which no State has so much reason to deprecate as Maine, her borders & her coast would be the first if not the principal scene of conflict. Provide her then with armor. She is young, but robust and athletic. Give her but her helmet and shield, and in peace or war she will do you

no dishonor. The mouth of every river should be guarded. Every town on our seaboard of sufficient importance to excite the cupidity of an enemy, should be provided with some suitable work of defence. I do not ask great and extravagant expenditures. We want no such expensive fortresses as the South "fought up" for her defence. We want none covering sixty or seventy acres. We want no Monroe Fortresses; no Rip Rap defences. We ask only such as are suited to the positions they may occupy; suited to the objects to be defended; to the endowments an enemy would have to make an attack. The repulsive should always be proportioned to the attractive power.

The position at the mouth of the St. Croix is becoming one of great importance. Calais, situated at the head of navigation, some thirty miles above Eastport, which, in 1830, contained but one thousand six hundred and eighty-six inhabitants, is now estimated to contain upwards of four thousand.—The commerce carried on from those waters is very considerable, and is rapidly increasing. The returns for 1834 show that the foreign vessels which entered and cleared at Eastport in that year, amounted to nearly ninety-eight thousand tons. This was nearly equal to the entry, and exceeding the clearances of foreign vessels at New York; and very far exceeding those of any other commercial place in the Union. It was greatly disproportioned; however, to the clearances of American vessels. The harbor of St. Andrews, where the enemy's fleet could rendezvous, lies on the opposite side of these waters, and is within striking distance of Eastport, and other places on the river. This important and exposed position has received much less consideration than it is entitled to, and I hope the attention of the proper department will be called to it, and that all necessary examination and surveys preparatory to the construction of suitable works of defence, may be speedily made.

It appears to be understood; that because the position at the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers are named in the third class, in the classification made by the Board of Engineers, in their report of 1821, they are, therefore, to be considered third rate positions, in point of importance.—Whatever was the object in so classing them in 1821, it ought not to be overlooked, that by the able report of the same board in 1826, those positions are placed in the second class; and by a recent report of the board just communicated to the Senate, they are embraced in the first class. Those formerly considered as entitled to the earliest attention, I have already been provided with works of defence. And those which in 1826, were regarded in the second class, now become the first class of positions remaining to be fortified. The work has been going on. The system of public defences has been adopted and pursued sometimes with more, and sometimes with less energy and zeal. The south has had the benefit of appropriations for the fortification of the Mississippi, Mobile bay, Pensacola, Savannah, Charleston, and other places. So far as regards that section of the Union, the system has been carried into execution, and the vote of the north has never been wanting, on any question of appropriation, for that purpose. But when, in her turn, the north claims her share in this matter, the south—no, Sir, not the whole south, I trust—but South Carolina, rises up against it. She "fought it up" for her benefit, and now would fight it down for—nobody's benefit. South Carolina, with her one or two ports of entry, has received the benefit of appropriations for this purpose, to the amount of nearly a million of dollars.—Maine, with her twelve ports of entry, and forty ports of discharge and delivery, has not had a single dollar expended, under the new system, on any permanent work of defence. The State of South Carolina, which builds but 640 tons of shipping, and owns but 14,000 tons, has, in regard to the defence of her one or two harbors, received the first and earliest attention of the Government; while Maine, which builds more than 50,000 tons of shipping, and owns 225,000, has been postponed and passed over! and this, too, by a Government acting under a constitution which imposes upon it the obligation of providing for the common defence of the whole country, and the general welfare and protection of all its parts.

Mr. President, I have intended nothing invidious, in the reference I have felt myself called upon to make, to the comparative claims of the south and the north. I regret that occasion has been given to present the different sections of the country in comparison or contrast. I have done so but in answer to the disparagement offered to the right of the State I represent here, to be embraced in the plan of common defence proposed by the bill. I would never volunteer, on any subject, in a gratuitous argument founded in sectional interests and distinctions. Such considerations ought never to control the legislative action of Congress, nor in any manner characterize its deliberations or its deliberations. The states of this Union constitute one great political family, all the members of which have a common interest, and should act from a common impulse. The different parts of the country they embrace seem designed by the God of nature, for mutual dependence and a community of interests. Their very variety of climate,



the diversity of productions to which they are adapted, and all the opposites and appositives which are presented in the different sections of our widely extended country, serve but to give them an adhering affinity, and bind them more closely together.

#### STENOGRAPHIC GLIMPSES OF CONGRESS.

From the Eastern Argus.

WASHINGTON, June 13.

**Senate.**—Have been debating the Deposit and Distribution Bill all day without taking any question upon it, unless as to some proposed amendments. Almost all the Senators, except Mr. Clay, who are in the habit of speaking at all, carried on a guerilla war on this subject, and discharged an idea as soon as they had conceived it. It was quite a desultory debate. Not a little was said about Mr. Clay's Land Bill, as though it would become a law and interfere with the surplus! If it should ever pass, which is barely among the last physical possibilities in creation, there would ever be a dollar unappropriated, which would ever be paid out for this purpose. The fate of this Bill is most certainly and essentially sealed in the House; and all who are in favor of any distribution, I think I may venture to affirm, are in favor of that mode embraced in the Bill reported by Mr. Wright, which, like Aaron's serpent, swallows all the rest. It is very evident that no proceeds of the Land Sales can or will be distributed, unless they are in the Treasury; and as this Bill does not profess to embrace all the surplus, it is very evident, that all who are in favor of any distribution, will go for the greatest sum; and they must consequently go for the Deposit Bill, and the distribution which it provides for. But the plain truth is, that the party who call and clamor for the distribution, do not want it to take place; for instead of their getting millions, they will have to give up millions which they now have the use of for nothing. They know it; but they thought every demand they made of their adversaries would be resisted; and when they see that the administration party are ready to comply, why the opposition themselves are the most fertile and ready in finding objections and furnishing obstacles. These pseudo patriots profess to be as pure as the vestal virgins; and they are about as pure as Turpin, that rascal of Rome who betrayed the Capitol to the Albanians; and if you only grant them what they ask, like her they would be overwhelmed and crushed to death by a compliance with their demand. I have serious doubts about the success of any mode of regulating the deposits or distributing the surplus.

**House.** The Michigan and Arkansas Bills were before the House to day, and were finally passed at a very late hour, without any amendment I believe since they were reported by the Committee of the Whole. This subject, so far as Congress has any thing to do with it, is at an end; and these two States, when the President shall have approved of the Bill, will be members of the Union. About the boundary between Ohio and Michigan, I have entertained but one opinion, and that of a minority, and a very small minority too; but in that minority are Gov. Morris of the Senate, and Mr. Adams and D. J. Pearce of the House; but if I stood entirely alone, I should be satisfied and convinced I was right, when I saw the most inveterate foes, the most violent partisans, the most ultra of the ultras on both sides, who were never known to agree in their lives, unite in a vote on this subject. I cannot see how Michigan is to be reconciled to her fate; but if she is, I see no reason why I should trouble myself about it. Mr. Adams made a speech of about three hours to-day on the subject of the boundary, and in favor of the claims of Michigan, one of the ablest of the many able speeches which he has made this session. If this should be published and come under the President's eye before he has examined the Bill, I think he might possibly veto it as he did the Senator's Bill, against which Mr. Adams, on its passage, made the same objection which induced the President to return it.

REIS EFFENDI.

WASHINGTON, June 14.

**Michigan Stock.** The date's date, and neither party picked.

**House.** After considerable debate, they amended the joint Resolution from the Senate, and fixed the 4th of July for the adjournment of Congress. Some of the members were a little excited to the 11th, but a handsome (I don't speak as to personal beauty) majority fixed on the 4th. Mr. Pearce of Rhode Island made a short, though the longest speech on the occasion, saying to substance, that it would be vain to attempt to transact all the business before them, if they should sit through August; they could only endeavor to despatch the most important. He alluded to what had been done, and what should be done; and thought it was not worth their while to have a very long recess, as they had the last session, to be spent in mutual civilities and reformation about what they had neglected. I think there ought to be a committee appointed to settle, in the recess, the disputes of the session. But the appointment might perhaps be confined this year, to being that of the Presidential Oath, when all parties, and all classes, will wish to derive themselves, after the adjournment of Congress, exclusively to the great civic game for the American People. The less doubt to the result, the more desirous the game will be a desperate one. But of this another time. The House were engaged pretty much all day in passing some supplementary bills in reference to the new States; the subjects were not very important, and the debate was desultory, and the House did not long since fixed the first week in July as the earliest at which Congress would adjourn,

but I thought they would have been able to have transacted more business by this time, and did not believe they would have left so much unfinished, as I am now convinced they will, if they adjourn on the 4th. From present appearances, I doubt whether they will be able to pass the Deposit Bill with the provision of Distribution incorporated in it. They are distinctly two subjects, and I feel confident that they cannot succeed together; and I am in some doubt, at this present time, whether either may succeed. Quite convinced am I, that it is for the interest of the opposition they should not; and well satisfied am I, that many of the administration party have been a little deceived by the clamor which the opposition have made for both of these measures, because they concluded the latter desired what they called for. No such thing: the outcry was made only for argument, and this party would be the very last to accept what they have hypocritically and diplomatically demanded.

**Senate.** They have been debating the Deposit and Distribution Bill to-day, principally the latter subject. A great portion of the members have spoken; and much difficulty seems to arise about determining what amount on the first of January next shall be subject to distribution—that is, what portion of the money in the Treasury at that time shall be amenable to the law now under discussion. Mr. Webster proposed to have all the appropriations first deducted. But would this be a fair or safe mode? On the first of Jan. this year, no appropriations were made; and since then there have been many calls for heavy and extraordinary appropriations. I do not see how they can at this time undertake to fix upon any amount that shall be distributed on January next—it must depend upon the condition of the country. This sort of inquiry convinces me, that this Bill will not very easily pass the Senate. Mr. Davis, I am told, spoke at length, and threw much light upon the subject. I regret I could not have heard him—for I never hear him without edification, and as long as he pursues the course he has commenced, he shall ever have my humble approbation.

REIS EFFENDI.

WASHINGTON, June 15.

**Senate.** The Deposit was again under consideration to-day. And here I will take leave to explain the cause of the variations of my opinion (on this subject) which like a barometer, only professes to indicate the party weather of the day, without pretending at all to calculate the motions of the political planets. From appearances yesterday, I saw but a cloudy prospect for the Bill; but to-day, I think I see a fair one. Yesterday they voted (23 to 20) to recommit with instructions to separate the subjects of the Bill, and report distinct Bills, one for the Bank Deposits. To-day, a motion was made to reconsider this vote, and the subject was debated pretty thoroughly, by Messrs. Webster, Calhoun, White, Black, Morris and others in favor of the motion, and Col. Benton, Mr. Wright and others against it. Mr. White and Black voted for the commitment, yesterday, and the reconsideration to-day; and the motion to reconsider was carried by a vote of 22 to 21. From the debate and avowals that took place to-day, I infer that there is a respectable majority in favor both of regulating, and distributing the Deposits. And here let me beg the public to be no longer deceived by that unconstitutional phrase "distributing the Revenue." It is not to be distributed—the idea is totally abandoned by all parties—one portion of it subject to appropriations, is to be deposited in the State Banks, and the surplus rateably in the State Treasuries. This, I now understand, to be the view, wish, and object of both parties, or at least a majority of them; and this end, judging from the votes and sentiments given and expressed to-day, will be attained. Gov. Morris expressed himself fully and decidedly in favor of this measure. He has always been equally decided against distributing the surplus, or stock-juggling with it, and would sooner have seen it sink in the ocean, than have consented to either. He said to-day, that he did not consider the Bill as embracing incongruous subjects, as the Senators who opposed the reconsideration contended; but they were distinct measures, and he should support both, whether separate or united. He considered the fate of the States, and their return to ruin, as depending upon the success of the measure to return the Deposits to the State Banks, and that the Federal Government ran on risk and parted with no rights by consenting to make the State Treasuries the depositories of the surplus revenue, on condition it should be returned when called for, or an equivalent paid in interest for its detention. Nobody would refuse to take the State Script; and it was perfectly simple to make it draw interest from the time of demand. As he expressed himself fully on the propriety, and security of the measure, and no Senator replied to his argument, I infer that they concurred with him; and so I am glad I conclude that the measure will be carried. Mr. Clay may possibly vote against it, as expressing on his part for the Presidency, the Land Bill; but what can he do in answer to that of holding the subject to such a disappointment? His Land Bill would be like opening an artery to the only place which in a few years would drain it of its blood; while a depose distribution of the surplus, would only relieve it of too much obnoxious—just as the Bankers serve their interests which they are doing at a distance—they slice off a few shanks to lighten the weight, and serve for a request: thus both parties are benefited.—The Senate continued in the Joint Resolution, fixing the adjournment of Congress on the 4th of July.

REIS EFFENDI.

#### ROTATION IN OFFICE.

Extract from the speech of Judge NILES of Conn. in senate of the United States on the removal of an officer of the customs at Newport, R. I.]

Had this man a private interest in this office, a vested right of which he could not be dispossessed without injustice and oppression? This seems to be the doctrine for which the Senators contend. Sir, said Mr. N. I deny this doctrine, as unsound in principle and dangerous in practice; I protest against it as anti-republican and even monarchical: it does not belong to our system; it is not consistent with the genius of our institutions.

Sir, said Mr. N. what is a freehold? Is it not an indefeasible right secured by the law, which cannot be taken from the possessor without violation of law? According to the principles of the gentleman, offices ought to become vested in the holders, as private rights, and become private property; and we may expect that they would become the subjects of traffic and bargain and sale. Can any principle be more hostile to our free institutions than this? It destroys all accountability in public officers, and renders them independent and irresponsible. It is in direct conflict with the great elementary principle on which our institutions rest, that of popular power. It is essentially a monarchical principle, for what is monarchy but independent, irresponsible power, not derived from, or responsible to, the people?

Perpetuity of office would not only destroy all official accountability, but would impair the energy of the representative principle which would become only a matter of form, and not substance; for it is not the mode in which offices are filled, but the tenure of them and the control which the appointing power has over them, which secures their accountability. The principle which secures the accountability of official trusts must be an active and efficient principle; one which is brought into action, which is applied in practice, the force of which is known and felt from time to time; it must not be a merely nominal or dormant principle.

Sir, said Mr. N. the principle of change, rotation, or removal, call it what you please, is one of the great conservative principles of this Government. It is a principle closely associated with that of representation and the delegation of power; it is a principle which abides with the people, which has its source in the popular will. With the people this is an active and efficient principle, one which they never fail to apply on all useful occasions. They applied to the second President of the United States; that was a removal, or a refusal to reappoint the incumbent, notwithstanding a precedent had been established of retaining him for a second term.

That distinguished man, &c. all his friends, believed that this power was exercised capriciously and unjustly; that they were removed from the public councils without cause, without any default of theirs, and from the influence of party excitement. These sentiments they retained to the day of their deaths; but they were not the sentiments of the country. In the Congressional Districts, the people frequently have recourse to this principle, and change without cause, or for such causes as they see fit, their public agents; this is also done in the States in all popular appointments. The people, periodically and frequently change their Representatives and officers, officers dependant immediately on them, and give efficacy to the principle of rotation in office. In almost every case, those who are excluded by this salutary principle, complain of injustice, proscription, and persecution. But the people do not think so; they have only exercised a right which belonged to them, and the public interest is generally promoted by its exercise.

Sir, said Mr. N. I protest against the principle of perpetuity of office; the principle of a freehold tenure; it converts all offices into private property, and private rights. This principle belongs to a monarchy, and not a republic; and should it once become established, my word for it, we should have memorials enough presented to Congress, setting forth acts of oppression; not of one officer oppressing another, but of public officers oppressing the people, of gross abuses of public trusts, lawless acts of illegal exercise of power, of injustice, extortion, and oppression. Such would be the consequences of irresponsible power; of removing that accountability which can alone be secured by the limited tenure of offices, and the efficient operation of that salutary principle of change and rotation. If you once admit the principle of a private right in offices, you destroy the principle of rotation; for a private right, if it exists, cannot be divested without cause; as the freehold principle, for a freehold can be divested for sufficient cause. There may be a defect in the title, or a better one may be shown to exist in another person, and the possessor may thus be ousted. But a freehold is an indefeasible right in the possessor, unless it should be defective; so it would be with the office holder; he would have vested in him a private right, which he could not take from him without proof of some defect in it, without it shall be shown that he has forfeited the right by his misconduct, or in some way lost it. I deny, said Mr. N., the whole doctrine; I deny that any individual has any private interest in an office, (unless that is secured to him by the legal tenure of it.) He holds it under the law, and he has no other right than what the law expressly vests in him. If it is a term of years, or for life, he is not responsible; if, during the pleasure of the appointing power, he cannot complain if he is removed, and another per-

son appointed. The only question is, as to the public interest; if the office is not as well filled if the public suffer, if the revenue sustains a loss, then there may be grounds of complaint.

**BUSINESS OF CONGRESS.** We invite a careful attention to the following articles from the Washington Globe.

**OPPOSITION TACTICS.** We think it right to call the attention of the country, in a very emphatic manner, to the new tactics brought into play this session by the Presidential candidates in Congress and their partisans, to defeat and frustrate the business of the session and to evade the penalty of public responsibility. This new system consists of prolonged opposition in speeches, motions, and questions of order, as they are called; (but which is really, are disorderly questions,) and in multiplying eternal calls for yeas and nays on questions of adjournment, or other insignificant points; by which contrivances the vote is stayed off from day to day, from week to week, & from month to month; and when at last, the time comes for voting, then these heroes of opposition either sit still in their chairs and refuse to vote, or dodge behind the colonnades, or betake themselves to walks and visits through the city. Thus, after the most embittered and prolonged opposition to some measure for the service of the country, they escape responsibility; for their names not appearing in the list of yeas, there is nothing to convict them, for the report of their speeches is denied and treated as a newspaper calumny. During the whole session, this novel and degrading system has been acted upon by the opposition, and many flagrant instances have from time to time been pointed out to the public; but the most unjustifiable and scandalous instance of the kind which has ever yet occurred, took place on Saturday last in the Senate—in that body once so grave and decorous, now and for the four years that Presidential candidates have converted that body into an electioneering club, the theatre of scenes which would discredit a cross-road tavern. It was on the fortification bill, that bill which was defeated last year, and for the loss of which a debate of so much criminality and recrimination occupied two months of the session. But there will be no longer room for further debate on that point. The bills for fortifications, (for there are now two bills depending, one in each House) are just as furiously opposed, and by the same identical men, as the three million appropriation was at the last session; and now at the end nearly of the sixth month of the session, not a dollar is yet appropriated for fortifications! and the session is so far advanced, that the year may be considered as lost!—and thus two years will pass by without being able to get money for fortifications, and the Treasury use if all the while brim full of money! But the Presidential candidates in the Senate must have the influence of that money, themselves, for their bargaining adherents in the States, to lay out to the best political advantage, during the impending election. This being the state of the fortifications, nothing yet appropriated, and the unfinished works falling to ruin for want of progress, strenuous efforts have been making for weeks to bring the bills to a final conclusion. On Saturday last, the friends of the bill undertook to sit it out, and having called up the bill at one o'clock, the Presidential candidates and their adherents commenced an obstinate and determined resistance, which lasted about five hours, when the friends of the bill having proved that it was a question between DEFENCE and DISTRIBUTION,—between the FORTIFICATION BILL and the LAND BILL,—and that the whole struggle was to CREATE A SURPLUS BY PREVENTING APPROPRIATIONS,—having proved this, they ceased speaking, and commenced voting. But scarcely was the voting commenced, before the motions to adjourn succeeded; and these being voted down several times, the fugitive tactics, the flying manoeuvre, was resorted to! and in counting up the votes, it was found that no quorum had voted! that twenty-five Senators were not present! Repeated and vain efforts were made to recall the fugitives to their duty. Game they had! gone they were! and come back they would not! A report of this day's debate, and of the yeas and nays, will verify this mortifying detail, and show the country who it was that opposed the bill in debate, and evaporated at the call of the yeas and nays; and who, like Parthians, fled to conquer, and deserted by running what they could no longer oppose by standing. Persons at a distance may suppose that such a scene as this is impossible in the American Senate; but the report of the debates, the journals of the votes, and the presence of many spectators, will be able to vindicate the truth, and to show that we have imperfectly and faintly sketched a picture which ought to be drawn to the life, and exhibited to every citizen. The fact is, that since a degenerate, wretched, broken down set of bargaining, trading, factious, intriguing, venal, malignant, disappointed, revengeful candidates for the Presidency, the attorneys, pensioners, and debtors of the Bank of the United States, have got into the Senate, and cladded together, though cordially detesting each other, to RULE the country or to RUIN it—since this has happened—and this is for four years past—the Senate of the U. S. has realized the most degrading pictures which ancient or modern history has ever presented. Happily this session is the last of their miserable marionettes; and a few months more will so completely reveal to them the state of their own malignancy, that shame and despair, and the power of public sentiment, will expel them from their seats, or reduce them to the rank of an opposition as insignificant to members as it will be important to power, and malignant to spirit.

#### CONNECTICUT LEGISLATURE.

We subjoin the following extract from the Hartford Democrat, in relation to the action of the Legislature of that State at its late session. The stand taken by the Legislature against granting any new bank charters must be highly gratifying to the democracy of that State. It indicates a just appreciation of the hazards which surround a further extension of the existing system, and the serious inroads it is making on equal rights and the stability of the currency and business of the country. There is no other means of arresting the disastrous tendency of that system than taking a firm, bold, and united stand, and resisting at the threshold every advance of that interest to extend its ramifications and strengthen its hold on the community. It appears to be regretted that more decisive measures were not adopted to carry out the prohibition of small bills. The Democrat, however, recommends, a remedy to the people which will be decisive.

The House very meritoriously refused to grant any new Bank charters by a vote of 81 to 119. This decision indicates a great change in public sentiment, and shows our legislature to be democrats indeed, and not in mere name as would seem to have been the case with the Legislature of New York, which enlarged the banking capital in that State, during its recent session, about 6,000,000 dollars. The people expected that the policy, of the legislature of last spring in regard to the introduction of a specie currency would not have been abandoned. The exclusion of bank small bills smaller than five dollars was expected; yet this measure was lost by a vote of 66 to 106. We hope the yeas and nays may be preserved. If any democrat voted against that measure, we hope not to see him again among our legislators for five years to come; or until he is either less interested, or better informed. While the President and his political friends at Washington, are doing all in their power to introduce a constitutional, metallic currency, our democratic legislature cling to the existing corruptions and fail to follow the spirit of the age and assist in vindicating the people from their thralldom to Banks? Truly the progress of truth is slow. We must wait another year our sister States must have the honor and the benefit of taking the lead in these most righteous and salutary measures. We hope another spring, it may be made a feat; that every member may go pledged and chained down to obey the will of the people in this matter. A more suspicious vote was not given during the whole session. We shall have more to say on this point. The present system of flooding the country with paper money is fast leading to its legitimate results: bankruptcy, commercial distress and panic pressures are at hand, or we mistake the signs of the times. We shall be taught by our experience, and shall pay dearly for our knowledge.

**FEDERAL ELECTIONS.** The Federal Journal, in spite of all our warnings, persists in making itself ridiculous, by wallowing in the mire before its new idol, the petticoat hero. Having no disposition to "spoil him," we shall not interfere; but what does it all mean? The Journal pipes away for Harrison, the Bangor Whig files Webster at its mast head, the Portland Advertiser keeps dark, and all the while the Federal Electors nominated for this State, are wholly unpledged! To the Democrats, it makes no difference; they back the little Dutchman against the world. But the honest portion of the Federalists—are they content? Are they willing to vote in the dark? Are they prepared, by voting for unpledged Electors, virtually to say that they prefer any man to Mr. Van Buren? Are they ready to surrender their voice in the selection of their Chief Magistrate, into the hands of ten men, some of whom they do not even know? The Federal leaders must prepare some answer for these questions, or they will find their followers, (already declining fast,) quite evaporated before November.—Age.

**SMALL BILLS.** I admit, too, that the issuing of small notes by many of the State Banks, has too much reduced the amount of specie actually circulating through the pockets of the people. It may be remembered that I called the attention of Congress to this subject in 1832, and that the bill which then passed both Houses for renewing the Bank Charter, contained a provision designed to produce some restraint on the circulation of very small notes. I admit there are conveniences in making small payments in specie; and I have always not only admitted, but contended, that if all issues of bank notes under five dollars were discontinued, much more specie would be retained in the country, and in the circulation; and that great security would be derived from this. [Extract from a speech in the U. S. Senate 23d Feb. 1834, by Daniel Webster, the Federal Candidate for President.]

Trofton and Keizer, the perpetrators of the Arzyle murder, plead guilty to the indictment for manslaughter, and were sentenced on Friday, at Bangor, to three years hard labor in the State Prison. Judge Emery, in pronouncing sentence, stated that the Court deeply commiserated their situation, as sooner or later they must feel that the blood of a parent was on their hands—that the Court considered the conduct of the parent as not without fault—the unfortunate result having been traced to the general course of all crime.—Rev.

The sixty first anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill was celebrated at Charlestown, Mass. on Friday last, in grand style. Orations by Hon. A. H. Everett. Thirteen surviving

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Paris, June 21 1936. MARY V. BESSE.



